

THE EAST & WEST REVIEW

An Anglican Missionary Quarterly

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The East and West Review

An Anglican Missionary Quarterly

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COMBINED ACTION : CHURCH AND STATE IN AFRICA

By H. D. HOOPER*

NEARLY two years ago an article appeared in these pages, under the title of "Government and Missions in East Africa," by Sir Philip Mitchell, who had just concluded his term of office as Governor of the Uganda Protectorate.

He wrote with conviction of the necessity for co-operation between Church and State in African development ; and although his argument had its roots in history it also represented the growing concern in every quarter with African welfare as an imperative reason for the closer association of the two agencies. He did not minimize the obstacles to be overcome, since ignorance, poverty, and racial intolerance are a formidable combination ; and he went on to contend that co-operation, to be effective, required a radical change in the general outlook. The present forms of government and Christian Mission are transient features in the panorama of progress, and attention needs to be directed to the prospects of local responsibility and control, and to the ways in which a real community of service can be promoted between the Church and the State on the spot.

In illustration of his point, he quoted some recent proposals for the reform of the school system in Uganda. The substance of these proposals is to be found in the Report of the African Education Committee.† Their main objective was to foster local responsibility by vesting greater authority in local school boards on which the church system was to be fully represented. The scheme owed much to the generous and courageous vision of the Governor himself, and it met with warm approval outside Uganda since it offered the groundwork for a fresh experiment in co-operation in other African territories.

The initiative and energy of a far-seeing Governor count for a great deal in the realization of such plans, and during the ensuing interval the scheme has made little advance except by way of suggestions for its modification. Meanwhile, the original conception is losing its vital impulse in the laborious technicalities of production. If these proposals are still-born, the share of the Christian Church in African schooling will be restricted and the policy of the Government will be seriously impoverished. The Anglican Communion, soon to be followed by the Roman Catholic Missions, was responsible for founding the Church in Uganda, and its members cannot leave upon government officials the onus of defending the policy or of enlisting general interest in it. No

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† No. 564/41, printed by the Government Press, Entebbe, Uganda.

apology, therefore, is needed for inviting the attention of your readers to the subject, since they have a part to play in averting a miscarriage of the experiment.

The purpose of this paper is not to question the conviction which dictated Sir Philip Mitchell's article, but to clear the ground for the Church to take a more constructive share in furthering the African's attainment of a full measure of maturity.

The business of interpreting an idea into codes and rules always tends to obliterate the primary values which commend it. In the case of co-operation this is more likely to happen because people take its value for granted and do not stop to ask themselves what it involves. A few cynics may remind us that combines sometimes cover the elimination of weaker elements by their more powerful partners; but most people are satisfied with the reflection that co-operation is desirable because it means less expenditure of energy all round to produce the same results. If the motive is merely one of economy, however, it will only yield meagre returns, and as an expedient to reduce competition the policy has little to commend it, because the results will not be the same.

Co-operation, to be worth while, must enlarge the scope of effective action for all who participate. The grounds for united action lie not so much in an identity of aim, as in a difference of functions to be reconciled to a common end. The Christian Church welcomes co-operation as a means of combining forces, with distinctive functions and merits of their own, for the greater enrichment of the people and the causes they serve. But these distinctive qualities need to be observed and tested at each fresh stage in collaboration, for if they are no longer potent the policy loses its validity.

The Church must be convinced of the essential character of her contribution and clearly aware of the distinctive part she has to play in combined undertakings, so that her interpretation of her duties may be articulate and may command the serious respect of her partners.

Governments and Churches are more liable to get into one another's way when their paths converge than when they are miles apart, and collisions can often be avoided by contrasting instead of slurring over the different angles from which they approach their task. The comparison will reveal distinctive functions and divergences of opinion as to the road to be followed. But the likelihood of recurrent tension is no cause for dismay; it only denotes that the system is braced to resist the impact of anything which will impede well-balanced development. Lingering misgivings on this score must yield to the acid test of an honest purpose—that the interest of the community to be served should override the risks of conflict.

In a common field of activity such as public education, the Church is primarily concerned with the individual and his personal relationships; her interest certainly does not stop there, for the virtue of the Christian Gospel is only manifest when man discovers the corporate meaning of relations with his fellow men and of the divine resources available to establish and extend their kinship.

By contrast, the Government's task is to deal with men in the mass and to secure their accord in the aggregate; the nature of its mandate

precludes a government from giving its main attention to individuals; it thinks in terms of majorities when the Church's mind is occupied with heaven as the metaphor of her ministry.

Yet it is easy to exaggerate the divergence; the emphasis upon difference of function is not a denial of the religious element in the performance of their duties by government officers, for efforts of whatever nature to produce a stable society are conditioned in the long run by the several characters of its constituents.

Co-operation goes back to the earliest days of colonial life before systems had taken shape or the policy was much more than an adjustment of personal relations between individuals. Under primitive conditions it is broadly true that Africans like and respect the individual officials with whom they have to deal, even when they view with suspicion and mistrust the complex personality known to them as "the Government." At the same time the missionary has won the affection of those with whom he has dealt because personal intimacy has been possible with converts who live in his near neighbourhood. Nor is this intimacy restricted to relations with Africans, for the missionary's duties have often been lightened by the friendship of officials who show their own valuation of the personal equation by joining Africans in their worship, their community service, and their games.

When resident at the Government post, the District Officer of A used to bring his wife with him every Sunday morning to a Communion Service in the vernacular language at a mission church three miles away, and they would come in the station lorry so that any of the African staff and employees who wished to attend might be given a lift.

The P.W.D. Officer at B went along each evening after working hours with some of his African artisans and took his turn at a shovel as they levelled the site for a new playground for the Mission Girls' School.

The Doctor at C had a large district to cover, but it did not prevent him from motoring out every week to a mission school ten miles away to lecture on first aid and welfare subjects and, afterwards, to join in a game of football with his pupils.

The Agricultural Officer at D was always ready to pay informal visits to mission schools where small communities of Christians needed advice on how to lay out their fields to the best advantage to provide the upkeep of their teacher; and he generally took with him a welcome gift of selected seed for them to plant.

The writer will not easily forget a luncheon with the Educational Officer at E, when a member of the African staff and his wife were also guests. It was obviously a common occurrence, for they were completely at their ease. The lady rallied her host on his failure to get married, and he parried her thrusts with the excuse that he had too large a family already to be able to support a wife as well. It transpired that he was maintaining out of his private salary fourteen bursaries at mission schools for small Africans who could not pay their own fees.

Such incidents may be trifling in themselves, but they went a long way to cement the early courses of co-operation and to lay a secure foundation on which to build its superstructure. Incidentally they are

a warning not to assess the services of officials by a formal estimate of the function which the Government is called upon to fulfil. The terms religious and secular may be very misleading when applied to a man and his duties in his sphere of employment.

Nevertheless, the State is not a satisfactory substitute for the Church with its insistence upon the importance of human personality as the medium of religious education. The official adoption of a policy of co-operation is a recognition of the fact and an explicit acknowledgment that the fabric of society needs religion if it is to be enduring. In her response the Church is entitled to define the function she has to fulfil, but it is only fair to add that criticism of the policy has been prompted less by what she claims as her rôle than by her failure to take full advantage of her opportunities.

The primary virtue and the distinctive quality which make the co-operation of the Church worth while is her function to transmit personal values to the whole of life. Her faith in a Person and its historic setting are the key to her significance. Jesus Christ is the focal point at which men and women can clearly see the meaning of relationship and from whom they can derive the impulse to consummate their commonwealth.

A State may embody the Christian ethic in its statute book, but the ordinance will remain a dead letter because the technical qualifications required of its officials do not include an avowedly Christian approach to life. Our Government has met this dilemma by enlisting the help of the Church, and if she fails there is no substitute for her service.

The State cannot produce the men and women to do the work for it, however attractive the terms of service, the prospects of a career, and the pension arrangements, for these are not the means to obtain the type of servant in the numbers required.

The provision of personnel is the outstanding issue confronting the Church, but by no means the only one in the circumstances of the present day, for the future lies increasingly in the hands of local Christian communities. The machinery of administration is revolving more rapidly; officials are tied more closely to their desks and foreign missionaries have to cover wider areas of supervision as the growth of the Christian Church adds tens of thousands to her membership each year. In mission schools the rising standards create an inexorable demand for more centres of higher learning, which draw their pupils from distant villages and sever the intimate family associations of earlier years. Persons are being submerged in systems and the old personal relationship is not easy to maintain.

More than at any time the Church is challenged to be true to her function and to secure the integration of the school in the life of the community. The genius of her educational work springs from the day when a livelier consciousness of personality, in the light of Christian teaching, animated the people themselves to create their own schools as a deliberate enlargement of their family life. The school was an organic part of the village existence and the spearhead of its progress. It was the gangway up which young and old explorers crowded, eager to set out on voyages of discovery; but one end of the gangway was firmly bedded in the mother earth of the homes to which they belonged

and was secured with the stanchions of Christian teaching against the inevitable strain as their unstable craft tugged at her moorings.

The advance of education must not mark a dissolution of that wholesome union of family and school life which is fostered by the discipline of a common allegiance to the Eternal Person who is the one God and Father of us all. The knowledge gained in the class-room needs to be tempered by the realities of field work such as are to be found in the life of the Christian congregation, for this body represents the more progressive element of the local community. If African society survives the growth of a new order, it will be largely due to the village pastor and schoolmaster who have found a vocation together in the humble and intimate setting of the African village. It is a pre-eminent duty of the Christian Church to ensure that they are equipped for their task by a training which gives full value to the resources of religion.

But the staffing of training colleges for teachers and pastors does not exhaust the calls upon our home constituency. The Government has met the rising tide of African development by buttressing its authority with technical departments: the expansion of their activities makes life more and more complex, yet departmentalism has this in common with the examination system that its acknowledged weaknesses have not been countered, so far, by a satisfactory substitute. Incidental to the system is the danger that the Christian Church will appear in the guise of one more department, and religion will be relegated to the rank of a subject in the school curriculum.

If the Church is to substantiate her Master's claim to be concerned with life in all its aspects, she must be prepared to meet the call for fresh ventures in new directions, that health and agriculture, literature and housing, diet and village industries may be studied in a context which links science with religion; and that human well-being may take precedence of the profit or power motive as the dominant incentive to improvement.

Lastly, the Church in this land must vindicate her vocation by an unwearying attack on racial discrimination. It will not be enough that she should be charitably disposed to foreign students in England as a class, or even that she should provide hostels where they can meet and enjoy the society of their own countrymen, unless her members are also willing to regard them as individual persons and to offer them the welcome and hospitality of English homes. Only thus—for they are sensitive to race distinctions—will they return to Africa genuinely determined to resist the greatest enemy of co-operation—colour prejudice.

When Anglican churchmen turn from considering their function to face the present facts, they will understand why many in government service who wish them well are beginning to despair of the Church compassing her part in co-operation.

It is not so much the wastage of nominal Christians or the Church's divisions, perplexing as they are, which leads to an open expression of these doubts; it is the failure of the home Church to supply the men and women, but particularly the men, in adequate numbers, with the requisite equipment to make their contribution to the Church in Africa.

Two illustrations will serve to disclose a situation patent to anyone who takes the trouble to examine it.

Soon after ordination in Central Africa, the clergyman must expect to be entrusted with duties equivalent to those of an archdeacon or suffragan bishop in this country. The writer visited one parish, with a single ordained African in charge, which consisted of 157 separate congregations, each with its own organization and area of work. And the stipend of these men is commensurate with a scale less than that of our most junior curates. The credit to which their devotion entitles them cannot conceal the lamentable consequences when the training of leaders—for candidates are not wanting—fails to keep pace with the growth of the Christian community.

On the educational side, the only college of university standing in West or East Africa is a religious foundation. Its remarkable influence during the 116 years of its existence can easily be traced in the records of public service and Christian ministry far beyond the borders of the territory in which it is established. It stands to-day at a turning point in its destiny on the threshold of a new era, when it is vital that the academic work of the College should correspond with its pretensions; yet it has waited more than two years, and is still waiting, for the classics tutor whose appointment is necessary to justify its claim to include a faculty of arts.

Only the constant evidence of what God's Grace and Spirit have accomplished saves us from being overwhelmed by the extent of our shortcomings; but we can make up the leeway if we will accept the eternal paradox that a man must be prepared to let go of his life if he would find it in reality and so be enabled to love his neighbour as himself.

UGANDA

The name of Mboga will always be associated with "Apolo of the Pygmy Forest," for it was this place which Canon Apolo Kivebulaya made his central station and headquarters of his work, and it was here that he died. Some of the most important work that has been done there during the past year is in the training of the church teachers. A class has been held at Mboga, and those who have been successful in their studies will be able to get a certificate to encourage them to go on later to greater things.

The large mud and wattle church which was there in the time of Canon Apolo became unsafe, and has had to be pulled down. It is hoped that before long it will be possible to begin work on a new brick church as part of the memorial to Canon Apolo. Meanwhile a temporary church, also of mud and wattle, has been put up.

Mboga has now two African priests at work. One is in charge of a large area around Mboga; the other has several forest tribes under his supervision, and also such work as can be done among the pygmies in the Ituri forest. Both these men are doing well, and have profited immensely by their training, short though it had to be, at Mukono College, Uganda. Another of the Mboga district church teachers has now been sent to Mukono College with a view to possible ordination at a later date.

NEWS FROM THE PACIFIC

By NATHANIEL MICKLEM.*

THIS evening I want to give you news of the Christian churches in some of the countries overrun by the Japanese, namely the Pacific Islands. The news, I am afraid, is very scanty, and it is difficult to get a clear picture of what is happening.

First of all, what is the Japanese policy towards Christian churches? The Japanese have been careful to say in their broadcasts that they will not disturb the religions of the peoples they have conquered. But the Tokyo correspondent of a German paper (the *Koelnische Zeitung*) sent his paper a dispatch to the effect that the Japanese intend to convert Buddhists, Mohammedans, and Christians to Shinto. The two policies are perhaps not so inconsistent in the Japanese mind as they are in ours. State Shinto is to have priority; by religion the Japanese mean private cults, and there is accumulating evidence that they intend, if they can, to *use* Christianity in the establishment of their New Order. On March 26th, 1942, diplomatic relations were established between Japan and the Vatican, and the Apostolic Delegate in Tokyo said that the Roman Catholic Church was "in a unique position to win the confidence and friendship of the Japanese Government." The Roman Catholic Church, I should say, has been much more ready than the Protestant churches to accept the assurance of the Japanese Government that what I may call "emperor worship" is a purely civil ceremony, not religious. But how far the exchange of diplomatic representatives between the Vatican and Japan will serve the interests of the Church has yet to be seen.

Some people are disposed to think of the islands in the Pacific as being not only idyllically beautiful but also as the home of wild and primitive savages, head-hunters, cannibals, and the like. Well, no doubt there are areas, as, for instance, parts of New Guinea, which are quite untouched by the Gospel or by civilization as we understand it; but many of these islands have really much more claim to be an integral part of Christendom than the islands we inhabit; they are genuinely Christian islands. For instance, the population of the Philippines is about fourteen millions; of these about eleven millions are Roman Catholics, and there are Protestant churches there too. Or look at Samoa, where at Pagopago the Americans have an important naval base; Samoa is a group of Christian islands. A recent traveller receiving the customary hospitality of the islands was embarrassed to find himself suddenly called upon to conduct family prayers at the close of the day. But in Samoa family prayers are as customary as the evening meal; public worship is an activity of the whole community; the whole community can read and write, and its educational service has been based on the Bible; the church is self-supporting, maintaining its own

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schools and theological college, its ministry and its own foreign missionaries. Or look at the island of Nauru, recently bombarded by the Japanese, (this is where the phosphates come from); it is a Christian island with a population of two thousand or so; in the principal village is a church which the natives themselves put up at the cost of £2,000, equipped with a Hammond organ.

I do not want to draw too idealized a picture of these Christian islands. Some of them are only a generation or two removed from savagery; they have been sucked into the world economic system of competition and are faced with grave problems and perils; they are, if you will, "babes in Christ"; but I want you to remember that the war in the Pacific has come to the doors of the young Christian churches which are not only threatened directly by the Japanese, but are threatened in the depths of their faith by this "white man's war" which they cannot understand.

Now let me come to such particulars as I have been able to collect. First about the Philippines. The Philippines have been called the only overwhelmingly Roman Catholic country in the Far East. But the American Protestants have also done good work there. By the way, it was among the Philippine tribes, the Moros, that Dr. Laubach first tried out his famous system for teaching illiterates to read. He was a missionary of the American Board. Before the war there were 480 American Roman Catholic missionaries there, more than half of whom were Jesuits. Many of these had to fly to the mountains during the invasion, and the fate of all of them is not known; but we have heard that all the Irish priests there are safe, and news came in mid-April that all the Protestant missionaries who had been arrested were released for service, and that there were no casualties amongst them.

We know that during the bombardment of Manila grievous damage was done to Church property. The old San Domingo church, built 350 years ago, was utterly destroyed and with it its library of 200,000 volumes, including original manuscripts, archives, and histories written by the Dominican pioneers of Christianity. Many other churches and religious institutions were either destroyed or very seriously damaged. The Dominican University of St. Thomas, to which the Spaniards gave the title of a "royal University" as early as 1645, was bombarded; it is now used as a prison. It has accommodation for 1,200, but 3,000 prisoners are packed into it.

Shortly after the invasion Tokyo boasted that the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Manila had agreed to co-operate with the Japanese; but this was officially denied. At the end of July it was reported that the Japanese had sent two Japanese priests to the Philippines; presumably they were men who could be trusted to support the "New Order" and to influence the Church in its favour.

It looks, then, as if the Japanese were not making a frontal attack on the Christian religion in the Philippines; the significance of their coming is probably seen better in the field of education. There are 7,459 schools in the Philippines; most of these are national schools in which no religion is taught—this is a sore point between the Roman Catholic Church and the American administration. But there are 699 private

schools, and great educational work has been done in the islands, pre-eminently by the Jesuits with their famous University, Ateneo de Manila. The Japanese have announced that there is to be no religious instruction in the schools, and that the educational system of the islands is to be organized under the Japanese military administration. In at least one University the Japanese consigned to the flames all books referring to democracy or to Anglo-Saxon culture or civilization. A Text-book Board has been set up in Manila to eliminate all references to democracy ; no newspapers or magazines may appear without Japanese official approval ; Japanese language and culture is to be taught in all schools, and the whole life of the community is to be Japanized. Let the people go to church, if they wish—this seems to be the policy—but there shall be no Christian education in the Philippines.

But if the Church has been relatively spared in the Philippines, there have been martyrs elsewhere. Bishop Aerts, the Vicar Apostolic of Dutch New Guinea, with seven other Roman Catholic missionaries, was murdered, as also were four Roman Catholic Marist missionaries at Guadalcanal. The Anglican Bishop of New Guinea was nearly killed by machine-gun fire at Buna. He, by the way, sent out a most moving call to all his missionaries to remain at their posts ; his words proved a regular trumpet call. In March last we know that there were still eighteen Anglican missionaries, presumably able to carry on work, in the Solomons. Indeed, I gather that life is still more or less normal in the Solomons, for the islands that have been invaded have merely been evacuated by the native population, which has simply migrated to some neighbouring uninhabited island. Life is as simple as that in those favoured regions ! So in New Guinea, too, it has been possible for whole villages simply to migrate out of gun-fire and settle down somewhere else ! This extreme mobility of Church and State accounts for the relatively small disturbance of Church life in part of this area.

Try to imagine what the impact of war must mean to these Christians, who themselves but a few generations ago under the influence of Christianity put an end to war in their own communities and are psychologically and spiritually unprepared for this kind of catastrophe. The Battle of the Coral Sea took place in the midst of the Methodist area ; a native minister writes that they heard “ the terrific sounds of guns and bombs and terrific sounds of aeroplanes.” “ But,” he continues, “ we are going on with the building of the new church and the preaching of the Gospel.” When the Japanese opened their attack on New Britain, and the bombs began to fall, the natives in their slit trenches held prayer meetings. They were afraid, I read, but not panic-stricken ; their trust was in God. I think I must quote you a good prayer that comes from one of these islands : “ Our Father, here we all are gathered together before You—men, women, boys, and girls, pigs and dogs—look down upon us and bless us all.” Yes, I call that a good prayer. But they do not think only of themselves : this from Gemo—a place so small that I cannot find it in my atlas ; the Christmas before last this little community, as a Christmas gift, sent three pounds for—what do you think ?—the relief of bomb victims in England !

But there is another side to the picture. In general, as I have suggested

the missionaries have stayed magnificently at their posts, but in some cases, especially of the smaller islands, they have been withdrawn by government order. One of the natives said, "Our missionary has gone, but he left us his faith, and we shall walk in it. Our good food is gone, but we shall find enough to fill us." But can we expect that all will be able to hold fast to their clear and simple faith through all that is coming upon them? Remember that they have not long years of Christian tradition and historical experience behind them. Many have fled into the woods and forests away from all Christian surroundings; there is serious danger of whole districts relapsing into heathenism once again. Some of the mission work may have to be started afresh when all this is over.

As concerns New Guinea, there is reason to think that the Church is much better able to face the storm in Papua than in the Mandated Territory to the north. One reason for this seems to be that Papua has been blessed by a succession of outstanding Christian governors who have closely co-operated with the missions; the whole background of life, therefore, has for many years been Christian. Thus a missionary evacuated to Australia wrote this of her last glimpse of Port Moresby: "One evening I found a lad at the bottom of the steps; he was waiting for me, and told me that he had left with his family when the rest did; but on looking round the new village he noticed that all the church leaders were there and thought to himself that there was no one left to help the folk still left in the old village; so back he came, his wife too, in spite of air raids, and each evening they had prayer meetings in the village. He held up his Bible and said, 'I must tell them God's Word'."

But turn to the other side; I quote from *The Times*: "Long before the evacuation of European women and children from Rabaul was completed, there was significant activity among the natives employed in and about Rabaul. Some 5,500 men . . . were busy making spears, axes, and other weapons which they had long since under a benevolent if unbending administration beaten into plough-shares. When questioned they made no bones about it . . . 'everybody intends to clear out' was the laconic explanation." Their weapons were confiscated or destroyed, but soon afterwards the whole 5,500 had disappeared.

I conclude with an anecdote written by a friend of mine. "I recall," he writes, "a conversation I had on the island of Nauru (an island which has since been under shell-fire) with one of the honorary native pastors of the Church. He happened to be ill at the time, and I went to sympathize with him in his sickness, but he quickly turned the tables by commiserating with me over the maladies of Europe. For my encouragement he went on to recount some of his own causes for thanksgiving. He pointed out how he himself had been lifted into purposeful living by the liberating power of the Gospel. He explained, further, how his community had been transformed from a number of competing groups into consciousness of a larger unity, a common loyalty and ways of service which meant abundant life. Then he added, 'Do you think it would help if some of us now went over to Europe and reminded your people of what Christ has done for us so recently and what he may yet do again for the countries of the West'?"

THE CHURCH OF ETHIOPIA

By A. F. MATTHEW*

TRADITION attributes the origin of the Church of Ethiopia to a Syrian slave in the court of the King of Axum in the first half of the fourth century. The story runs that a Syrian merchant, accompanied by his nephews, Frumentius and Adesius, was travelling through the Red Sea when his ship was wrecked on the shore of Eritrea; the crew and passengers were put to death, with the exception of the two young men, who were sent as slaves to the King of Axum. There they gained favour and were made tutors to the King's son, and on his succession to the throne they were given their freedom. They had made use of their opportunity to spread the knowledge of Christianity. On gaining his freedom Frumentius left the country for Alexandria, where he asked the Patriarch, St. Athanasius, to send a bishop to shepherd the little flock of those he had converted. St. Athanasius' reply was to consecrate Frumentius himself (c. A.D. 340) as the first Bishop of the Ethiopian Church, and it is he, under the name of Abba Salama, whom the Ethiopian Church regards as its founder.

There seems to be no reason to doubt the truth of this tradition. The connexion thus begun with Egypt has continued; when the Coptic Church separated itself from the majority of the churches during the Monophysite controversy, the Ethiopian Church followed its lead and became Monophysite. Throughout the centuries the Bishop of the Ethiopian Church (there has seldom been more than one) has been a Coptic monk chosen from the Monastery of St. Anthony in Egypt and consecrated by the Coptic Patriarch. Since the Moslem conquest of Egypt there have been long periods when there was no bishop, owing to the difficulties created by the Moslem rulers; but always the Ethiopian Church has bided its time and the succession of Coptic bishops has been unbroken. But in 1929, when a new Coptic bishop, Qerillos (Cyril), was appointed, it was agreed that five Ethiopian monks should also be consecrated as his suffragans, but only on condition that they undertook to remain loyal to the Coptic Patriarch and to refrain from consecrating other bishops. Four were consecrated in Egypt with Qerillos, and the fifth in Addis Ababa in 1930 (January), when the Patriarch of the Coptic Church visited Ethiopia. The title given to a bishop in the Ethiopian Church is *Abuna* (our father); owing to the fact that for so long the Coptic Bishop was the only one in the country, he is commonly spoken of as "the *Abuna*"; but since Ethiopian bishops have been consecrated as well, to whom is also given the title, the name sometimes leads to confusion.

The connexion between the two churches was broken during the Italian regime. Rather than consent to the separation, Abuna Qerillos left the country and returned to Egypt; but of the two Ethiopian

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bishops who remained alive one, Abuna Abraham, gave way to Italian pressure and became Archbishop of the Ethiopian Church. For this he was excommunicated by the Coptic Patriarch in Synod, but he continued to hold the office and consecrated other bishops, one of whom, on his death, succeeded him as Archbishop.

The restoration to the throne of the Emperor, Haile Selassye I, who during his exile remained loyal to the Coptic Patriarch as Head of the Church, has, of course, upset the Italian arrangement, but the future relations of the churches remain unsettled. It was the growth of nationalist sentiment, looking to the independence of their church, which led to the appointment of the five Ethiopian bishops before the Italian occupation; the nationalist sentiment has been strengthened by the war and will not be satisfied with less than was given in 1929.

The period following the arrival in the country of its first bishop was one of growth; Christianity spread, monasteries were founded, the Bible was translated into the Semitic language then spoken, Geez, which is known in Europe as Ethiopic. There followed, from 920 or so to A.D. 1268, a period of which very little, whether in secular or ecclesiastical history, is known, except that Christianity continued alive, as is witnessed by the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela; but from 1268 onwards, from which time secular records remain, ecclesiastical history is also known. In the middle of the fifteenth century the country was occupied by Moslem invaders, who caused great destruction everywhere and the Church suffered severely. The danger was overcome by the help of a Portuguese expeditionary force, which was followed by Roman Catholic missionaries who, with more tact and sympathy, would possibly have brought the country into obedience to Rome. One Emperor, indeed, did make his submission, but the methods of the missionaries aroused so much opposition, which eventually broke out into open rebellion against the Emperor who had joined them, that in 1632 the missionaries were expelled, and for nearly two hundred years no others were allowed to enter the country.

There have been periods of revival in the life of the Church during these last seven centuries. In such a period a revision was made of the translation of the Bible; other translations were made of certain writings of the early Greek fathers, all into Geez, which has remained the language of the Church, used in all its writings and services, though the spoken language of the country is now Amharic. Christianity spread farther afield, into regions to the south and west, where it no longer survives. But during the latter part of this time the history of the Church has been a story of decadence. Cut off from all external communication, except with Egypt, it has no share in the new knowledge which in Europe led to the Reformation; it produced nothing new in theology; it ceased even to translate from other languages; it deteriorated as the political structure of the Empire fell into confusion during the last half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries. It received nothing from the contact with the outside world which then began to influence the country, slowly at first, but in a degree continually increasing to the present day; it remained content with its traditional worship, lore, ceremonies. It did not die, however; it

carried on its village schools where any child might learn to read, its monastic schools, where the beginner from the village school could get free education which would train him to be a priest or a choirman ; it still had its learned men, who had studied the theology and exegesis of the Scriptures handed down orally for centuries ; it still entered into the lives of the majority of the Christian inhabitants of the country from birth to death. But with decay of its spiritual life has come a growth of formalism and belief in the value of external acts, so that its influence is seen little in the moral sphere, but much in the observance of feasts and fasts.

If Ethiopia is still a land of mystery, in spite of the books written by so many who have visited it, its church is an even more mysterious entity. The common foundation of doctrine and worship which it shares with the rest of Christendom is ignored, and only the curious developments of its ritual are mentioned, such as the dances of the priests, and one or two of its great occasions, such as the Epiphany ceremonies, *Timdat*, which are often erroneously described as an annual repetition of baptism. Strange stories, too, are current among the foreign community (from whom the travellers obtain them) ; the Church is said to own one-third of all the land—Ethiopians, when told this, smile ; there are said to be a million priests in the country—out of a possible total of not more than five million Christian inhabitants, a statement which common sense and a little observation should stamp as being a gross exaggeration, even though the word “ priest ” is used in a loose way, which would never find acceptance in talking of any other church, to include deacons and choirmen.

With the exception of the Monophysite doctrine of Our Lord's nature, the faith of the Church of Ethiopia is orthodox in its fundamentals, and the learned men can give chapter and verse from the Bible in support of their belief ; misconception on the part of uninstructed laity, though lamentable, does not detract from the basic unity in faith of the Ethiopian Church with all others. It has the three orders of bishop, priest, and deacon. The priest occupies himself with the administration of the Sacraments, of which seven are recognized, though not all are practised. The chief service is the Eucharist ; Baptism is administered in infancy and cannot be repeated. Easter is the great feast of the Church ; next after that comes Epiphany, which is kept as a commemoration of Our Lord's baptism, as is usual in the Eastern churches, and marked by an outdoor service which includes the blessing of water and the sprinkling with it of the congregation.

The priests, as is the custom in Eastern churches, must be married before ordination, unless they become monks. The deacons are usually boys of less than half the canonical age, and they cease to officiate when they reach the age to marry, lest, by irregularity of life, they should profane the sanctuary. Though there are learned priests, the standard of knowledge for both priest and deacon is lamentably low, little more being required than ability to sing the service in Geez, without even having a proper understanding of the language.

The majority of those who are learned are to be found among the choirmen. These are ranked as ministers of the Church, though they

are not set apart by ordination to any of the minor orders. They take a considerable part in all the services, usually accompanying their chanting with the shaking of sistra and on special occasions with drums. A long course of several years' training is required before a choirman can perform his part; the desire for knowledge which carries them through this often leads to further study at different monastic schools, and these persons acquire a knowledge far in advance of that of the generality of priests. It is these choirmen who perform what are called the dances of the priests which are held on certain festivals, but out of doors; drawn up in two lines facing each other, they advance and retire with a peculiar limping movement, to the accompaniment of sistra and drums, chanting the while.

The churches are usually round, enlarged versions of the round huts in which most of the people live, though formerly cruciform churches were built, and the newest churches in Addis Ababa are of this type. In the centre of the round church is the sanctuary, a separate room in which the altar stands out of sight of the congregation, and the act of Consecration in the Eucharist takes place within it behind closed doors, as is customary in the East. Only priests and deacons may enter within the sanctuary. On the altar rests the "Ark of the actual Covenant," of which mention is often made by travellers. It is actually nothing else than a portable altar-slab, a piece of wood or stone some twelve inches square, kept in a flat box; the box is supposed to represent the Ark of the Covenant, the altar-slab the Tables of the Law within it. This box, draped over with a cloth, is carried in procession on the head of a priest at great festivals. It is this which is consecrated by the bishop and gives the sanctity to the building in which it rests; if the building should be desecrated in any way, the altar-slab would be reconsecrated.

Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year, except between Easter and Whit Sunday, are fasts, when no food or drink may be taken before midday, and thereafter only vegetable food may be taken, eggs and butter being prohibited as well as flesh meat. There are many other fasts, but the fast of Lent, which continues for eight weeks, is most strictly kept, ending for the most devout in complete abstinence from food over Good Friday, from midnight on Thursday to Saturday midnight, when the Easter Eucharist is celebrated.

There is considerable devotion to the Church, which is more than mere attachment to a national institution, though that is all that is felt in some cases. The question that has to be faced now is whether the Church will be able to make that devotion more spiritual and make its influence felt more in the moral sphere. The Church has kept alive in spite of its isolation and has survived many dangers during its long life, but it is now facing what is in all probability the greatest danger of all. The schools that have already been opened by the Government to give education along Western lines are full, and there are still more of the younger generation anxious for education; between the Church and every boy and girl who absorbs new knowledge and acquires a fresh outlook the gulf will widen, unless the Church can infuse a new spirit into its services and teaching.

INDIAN CHRISTIANS AND THE POLITICAL SITUATION†

By THE BISHOP OF DORNAKAL*

THE Congress demands that Britain should immediately surrender the entire government into the hands of the peoples of India, and if that is not done it cannot co-operate with Britain in the war against Axis aggressors. The Moslem League (representing millions of Moslems) also demands self-government, but stipulates that those Provinces where Moslems are in a vast majority should be constituted after the war into a Moslem dominion or dominions, and that this should be definitely promised now. Dr. Ambedkar and Rao Bahadur Mr. M. C. Rajah (representing sixty million Depressed Classes) violently object to the Congress demands in the interests of the depressed classes. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the former Congress Prime Minister of Madras, advocates reconciliation with the Moslems and resumption of Government by Indian leaders so that the aggressor nations may be opposed by the whole of India. In this conflicting situation the Indian Christian is bewildered and puzzled and hardly knows what his attitude ought to be. Certain considerations emerge from the undoubted fact that he is both a follower of Christ and a citizen of India.

With trembling conviction Indian Christians see that they must be on the side of India's freedom. (*Vide* Resolution of All-India Indian Christian Association.) If China, Japan, Persia, and Turkey can hold their heads up as independent nations in the eye of the world, their motherland should certainly have the same status. With millenniums of culture and civilization, with its hoary traditions of wealth and power, with its incorrigible God-consciousness, their dear India, they feel, deserves to be free India.

The Indian Christian, however, has vague fears that the freedom he desires for his country may spell deprivation of his own liberty and his fundamental religious rights. He has not forgotten the past. His forbears had sufferings from the religious intolerance of their countrymen. He still remembers that when life and light from Christ came to his forefathers, and they decided to obey the light, their own caste kith and kin, their landlords, and their masters placed every obstacle imaginable on their path. They were often deprived of their homes, their property, yea, sometimes their own lives had been threatened. Eighty-five per cent. of the community came from depressed classes. Both in the north and in the south these Christians have still fresh in their memories the slavery and degradation from which they were delivered by Christ and the Christian missionary. Would India's freedom mean a return to the old caste tyranny? From recent experiences he is not at

† Reprinted from *The Dornakal Diocesan Magazine*.

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all sure that it will not. The educated Christian in an academic sort of way desires complete freedom; but would the rural Christian be free, when India's freedom comes, to practise his religion, to propagate it to his countrymen, and to lift up his head as one made free in Christ and raised above the ignominy and disgrace that are attached even to-day to the word *Harijan*? These are his vague fears. Congress leaders have never given the slightest consideration to clearing these doubts.

The Indian Christian's religion has taught him to "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." Scriptures tell him that "he that resisteth the power withstandeth the ordinance of God." "The ruler is a minister of God: wherefore ye must needs be in subjection." "Render to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour." While, therefore, he asks for freedom, he cannot agree to bring it about by civil disobedience, by non-co-operation, and by rebellion. When, therefore, his countrymen wish to wrest *swaraj* by these methods, he feels his hands are tied by his religion.

In view of these conflicting loyalties, what is the Indian Christian's duty? In such a puzzling situation, he is hardly able to give expression to his real convictions. He cannot join the Congress even though it be the major or the strongest party, and even though a few leaders of the community urge him to do so. For he demands nothing for himself; he does not very much care for his community to have a separate electorate. A greater representation in the Legislature, he knows, will not give him his political salvation. He would demand freedom; but within the freedom he would like to have his own freedom guaranteed, and loyalty to his own religion secured. He cannot ally himself to this or that communal organization; for he does not ask for privileges for his own community, but only, with his Christian culture and Christian outlook, he asks for opportunities to serve his motherland. In these circumstances he is blamed by the Congress, by the depressed classes, and by Moslems, that he does not throw himself into this political struggle. The Indian Christian is, however, hand-tied and lip-tied, with strong convictions and painful heart-yearnings for a free India.

And what about the war? War, he knows, is all evil. It is a negation of man's highest qualities and destiny. He would therefore have no war for any cause whatever. He realizes, however, that there are worse evils than war. Lawlessness and crime in individuals must be put down by force if society is to live in peace. Deprivation of liberty of other nations by one or two aggressive nations, and plunging the world into bloodshed and devastation must similarly be opposed by all right-minded nations if the world is to be left in peace. No one nation ought to have the material power to pollute the earth with blood and fire. If an aggressive nation cannot be curbed by reason, argument, and fair dealings, and if the language of force is the only language such nations understand, it is the duty of all other nations who care for justice and righteousness to stop the aggressor and, if need be, even perish in the attempt. In the present world war there is no doubt whatever why the Allies are engaged in this dirty work: it is to make the aggressor nations realize that aggression and selfish ambition do

not pay, that this world of ours is meant to be the place where nations can live in peace, where each race and country ought to have the opportunity to make its own peculiar contribution to the well-being of all others—that, not by domination, but by service.

That being so, the Indian Christian feels that the war is a world war, where nations are ranging themselves on one or other of two sides. He will certainly vote on the side of righteousness, freedom, and liberty, and in consequence he is ready to throw himself into the war. To launch any campaign that will tell against India's participation in the war, he feels to be a blunder. To bargain for this or that as a reward for participation, he feels it unseemly and unworthy of a nation with moral backbone. He therefore regrets that he is unable to see eye to eye with Congress in this matter.

When Mr. C. Rajagopalachari parted company with the Congress and advocated understanding with Moslems and full participation in the war, the Andhra Christian Association passed a resolution of whole-hearted support to him. That is the true Indian Christian opinion of the Christians of Andhra Desa.

Here, then, is the Christian's position. He is torn between two loyalties. He forbears taking sides. He can only pray that the British may understand his longings for his motherland, and that his countrymen may understand his loyalty to his religion.

That being so, with all the earnestness of his being he pleads with his countrymen not to let themselves go in mad lawlessness. It does no one any good: it harms all. He pleads with the leaders of parties not to demand anything as the reward of their participation in this war. Moreover, he is convinced that all talk of a free India will be futile which does not face the problems of the Indian States, external defence, and the mutual mistrust of communities within. These are not unsolvable problems: where there is a will there is a way.

They also plead with equal earnestness with the Government, not merely to trust to restoration of order by force (which is certainly necessary), but to take steps as early as possible to implement their pledged word in regard to India's freedom, and even now to explore fresh possibilities of reconciliation of differing views and different political parties. The Government can take steps by conciliation, consideration, and magnanimity to bring about a change of heart in the people and the leaders. This is the meaning of the appeal sent to the Government of India and to India's political leaders by the Executive of the National Christian Council on the eve of the Bombay A.I.C.C. meeting. It was an appeal born of the unanimous conviction of the Indian and European leaders of the Christian Movement in India. Should a conference be summoned, Indian Christians (numbering seven millions) would desire that they should be represented on it, especially by one who could state the rural Christian's point of view. It may also be urged that the aboriginal tribes (numbering about eight millions) should also have a representative on it (Christian, or non-Christian), and their view also should be heard.

Whatever method may be followed, reconciliation and India's peaceful development are what Indian Christians desire. To this end every Indian should work and pray, and pray until he is heard.

THE ADVENT HOPE AND OTHER FAITHS†

By GODFREY PHILLIPS*

IT is not surprising that our speech about the eternal coming into time should seem confused about its tenses, future, past, and present. The very mark of our Christian expectation is that we look for the coming among us in new ways of One whom we know, for He came already, in our world, in Bethlehem when Quirinius was governor of Syria; He comes to us daily, giving Himself at Eucharist and at many times besides. How He will come again we know not; He may surprise us as much as He once surprised the Pharisees; so our expectancy loses no thrill of wondering about how and when and in what form He will come again. But it is so based upon history and the experience of the Church that it differs from all those fancy-flights in which men have sometimes sought a refuge from reality.

We thrill with hope of His Advent at an hour and in ways that we know not, because of the measure in which already we know Him in part; we are not awaiting the coming of a stranger.

For all the past, read true, is prophecy,
And all the firsts are hauntings of some Last,
And all the springs are flash-lights of one Spring.

That was true, even under the old Covenant, of the Jews looking forward; it was always based upon past historical experience. They looked, in hope or in fear, for a coming of God in deliverance or in judgment, because they knew how He had come before to bring them forth out of Egypt or back from exile, judging Pharaoh or the kings of Babylon and delivering His people. He might come again in a prophet; that would be like the Moses they knew; or as a king, and that would be great David come again; or as a priest, and priests had been familiar throughout their history. It is strange, and a warning to us, that when He came as prophet, priest, and king they did not recognize Him; but that was not because their hopes had been false; they were true hopes based upon God's acts in the past as much as on His promises for the future.

It is even more distinctive of the Christian Advent hope that it rests securely upon God's mighty, self-revealing acts in the past, as much as upon His inexhaustible resources for the future, guaranteed by promises not yet fulfilled. He will come in some new way, but still the same He who came before. He comes to us now, the same who

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† A lecture delivered in Winchester Cathedral, December 16th, 1942.

came and caused Mary's soul to magnify the Lord, and all generations to call her blessed. He came at Pentecost, how differently, in a way which fulfilled many Scripture promises and yet not all, so that the Church even after Pentecost still said that He would come again in glory to judge both the quick and the dead. He came in the fall of Jerusalem and in other dread days of the Lord who judges the earth. He came to individual apostles in their labours, and to martyrs in their agony, as He comes to common believers in the hour of their death. His presence in the earth is never completed, as it were in repose, but always dynamic, a coming pointing to yet more coming in the future.

As we look beyond the present darkness of world-wide war, our hope as Christians of some brighter day is not based on an arrogant confidence in our powers to build a better world, but on His coming to those who both cry to Him in their need and labour in hope of His appearing. And when the long story of mankind, now seeming so meaningless and tragic, reaches its end, and the scroll of history is rolled up, what other climax can we Christians imagine save the final Advent of the same Lord whose every previous coming taught us something new, yet left something still to be revealed? On that day His mere presence must be judgment, a *Dies Irae* upon all ultimate opposition, and deliverance for all who have longed for it. "Even so, come, Lord Jesus."

Such, in outline, is our Advent hope.

Some of the values which it contains may become clearer to us if we set as its background some other world religions, seeing whether they have anything corresponding to it, using them, in fact, somewhat as the photographer uses his background, to sharpen up the lines and to throw into prominence the lights and shadows of that of which it is the foreground. The subject is too large for any comprehensive treatment, but I have tried to select a few concrete illustrations, each of which is representative of a great range of religion.

As we begin to do this, we make one decisive discovery at the outset, namely, that the other world religions, strictly speaking, have no Advent hope at all. As we shall later see, man has instinctively rebelled against a future rayless of hope, and here and there has invented something to look forward to; but there is more contrast than comparison between such rosy dreams and the Christian expectation based on history. The real background is black as the photographer's velvet, throwing every hopeful colour into bright relief. "Not surprising," we say, "as we look across this warring world and feel the agony of nations." But it was the same when the world was at peace. Expectation in penitence, fear, or hope, of one far-off divine event, is not a natural product of the unaided human mind.

Think first of the primitive peoples. Their religion has many common features all over the world, and is the religion of natural man, with which we have more affinities than with some higher religions of the East. In fact, it is the religion, with all its superstitions, to which mankind will return if it follows some present-day advisers and rejects Revelation,

The simple primitive, looked at superficially, seems cheery enough, with few wants easily supplied. It is true that any Golden Age of which he makes stories is always in the past—very, very long ago. It is also true that life can have no particular meaning, being dominated by a crowd of invisible agencies which are quite capricious, so that no one can ever know what will happen next. But who worries about that when the stomach is full? So he grins and dances in the sun, and we are liable to be deceived thereby. Dr. Marett even wrote a book about Faith, Hope, and Charity in primitive religions, seeking, of course, for rudiments, not for full growth of these theological virtues; but his evidence for hope seems tenuous. "The other animals just live, but man has superfluous energy enough to say to himself as he lives, 'Here am I living!' and somehow it helps him to live better. By a tortuous effort of mental gymnastics he pats himself on his own back and is greatly cheered." Yes, that doubtless is true of part of his life. But what about the times when the stomach is not full, and the sorrows of man's lot come in like a flood? Why, even in our own experience at certain moments of the war, e.g. amid a series of blitzes, how often have we heard people say, "Call this living?"; and how otherwise can the primitive sometimes feel?

It seems that another anthropologist, Paul Radin, is dealing with a wider range of fact when he devotes a whole chapter to primitive people's *Tragic Sense of Life*. The mass of evidence in that chapter makes a grim impression. Here is a folklore story, current among the Ba-Ila peoples of Northern Rhodesia, about an old woman who had gone through just the ordinary sorrows, typical because ordinary—bereavement and loneliness in old age:

There came into her heart a desperate resolution to find God and to ask the meaning of it all. Somewhere up there in the sky must be His dwelling. She began to cut down trees, joining them together and so planting a structure that would reach heaven. Finally she gave up in despair, but not her intention of finding God. Somewhere on earth there must be another way to heaven! So she began to travel, going through country after country, always with the thought in her mind: "I shall come to where earth ends and there I shall find a road to God and I shall ask Him: 'What have I done to Thee that Thou afflictest me in this manner?'" She never found where the earth ends, but though disappointed she did not give up her search, and as she passed through the different countries they asked her, "What have you come for, old woman?" And the answer would be, "I am seeking Leza." "Seeking Leza! For what?" "My brothers, you ask me! Here in the nations is there one who suffers as I have suffered?" And they would ask again, "How have you suffered?" "In this way. I am alone. As you see me, a solitary old woman; that is how I am!" And they answered, "Yes, we see. That is how you are! Bereaved of friends and husband? In what do you differ from others? The Besetting-One sits on the back of every one of us, and we cannot shake him off." She never obtained her desire: she died of a broken heart.

Life had been too much for her.

There is plenty of folk-lore with the same temper. "The Besetting-One sits on the back of every one of us, and we cannot shake him off." Can we imagine what it feels like to have that view of life? That is

the real feeling of the greater part of mankind which has not heard of either the first or second coming of Our Lord.

Just as there is no hopeful future for the individual, there is none for the race or even for the universe; there is no going forward to a climax, but an everlasting going round in circles, from creation to destruction and from destruction to creation. A good example is the doctrine in ordinary popular Hinduism of the four Yugas or ages of the universe, of which we are now in the fourth, the worst of the four. It consists of only 432,000 years by our human measurements, whereas the best, the first age, lasted 1,728,000 years. In that first age Virtue walked on four legs; in the second on three; in the third on two; and now she has one leg only. This era is one of universal vice and misery, and can only end in catastrophic destruction. Then after a period of rest Brahmā will re-create the universe, and the whole process will be gone through again. This legend is deeply rooted in the popular imagination and is constantly reflected in ordinary speech. That is how the common people feel; there is nothing to hope for from the future.

But if in India we turn from mere mythology to religious philosophy we find the same pessimism. Life is a shadow-show, experience an illusion; there can be no programme made out of a series of unrealities, much less a hoped-for climax. Since objective reality is unknowable, our notions of good and evil, even of the divine, are subjective; there can be no such thing as a revealed will of God for the world, or combined labours in obedience thereto of a world-wide Church, no Kingdom of God, no coming of the King. It would be hard to over-state the weight which this has laid upon the Hindu spirit, or the handicap to hopeful energy which it has involved. Unquestionably it has had a great influence, and that depressing, upon the present political situation. Missionaries have always found that there is no more clear-cut contrast between Hindus on the one hand, and Jews and Christians on the other, than that the Hindu looks backward to the Golden Age, while Jews and Christians look forward. There is no real word for hope in Indian languages.

Similar reports would have to be given about ordinary Buddhism, which, of course, was only an offshoot from Hinduism and changed none of its pessimism. In Confucianism, the Golden Age when sages directed society was far back in the past, according to Confucius himself. Strictly speaking, there is nothing in the ethnic religions corresponding to our Advent season, nothing therefore to call out the penitence and mingled fear and hope which are in our hearts at that time.

Herein is the missionary call of human need to the Church. We look across the world and it is dark, and a torch has been placed in our unworthy hands. The war only makes more obvious the need of the world which was always there. The war, please God, will soon pass, but the sadness of most of mankind will remain until the Church takes the Good News everywhere. We Christians even now amid the pains of war have more hope than other religionists had when their countries were at peace. It is no disrespect to other religions or cultures, but loving sympathy for fellow-men, which makes us concerned that the gross darkness of hopelessness covers the peoples.

That is not the whole story. Human nature has from time to time revolted against this despair. It has invented for itself grounds for consolation or for anticipation of brighter things to come. Some of these inventions—or shall we prefer the phrase religious intuitions?—are moving evidence of the depth of the desire which ultimately can only be satisfied by Him who is called the Desire of Nations.

A notable instance is how later Buddhism, as it moved eastward, took an old legend of a sun-god Amitābha and made out of it a saviour whose merit could become available for all who call upon him. By a ray emitted from his heart he can illuminate every being he wishes, no matter at what distance. Every dying person who repents of sin and calls upon him will be born after death in the pure land, somewhere west of our world. Spring there is perpetual; all the inhabitants are of the male sex, and of adult age. Bodies are ethereal, not material, and food and clothes present themselves when wished for. This paradise is not ultimate heaven, but a transitory abode with Amitābha, in which he purifies and illuminates his disciples, setting their feet on the road to definite salvation. There are beautiful altruistic ideas in the teaching about purity and illumination, for which no scholar can point to the source. Here are two stories, out of many current in China, about a devotee of Amitābha:

The celebrated Shan-tao passed his whole life in extraordinary fervour. In his cell he invoked Amitābha, only stopping when he had come to the end of his strength. When he went out, it was to teach the laity to invoke Amitābha. He would never allow people to speak to him of profane matters. He copied by hand the small sutra of Amitābha one hundred thousand times. Those whom he taught to invoke Amitābha were innumerable. Many persons saw a flame escape from his mouth each time he pronounced the name of Amitābha. Frequently also the texts he had written glittered. He said to all: "You are masters of your destiny; as you shall desire and request, so shall it happen to you." One day he said to his disciples: "I have had enough of this life; I want to go to Amitābha . . ." Then, having hoisted himself on to a large willow, facing the West, he prayed thus: "O Amitābha, come to fetch me. O P'usas, guard even unto my end, my intention to be reborn in the Pure Land." Having said that, he let himself fall, and died at once.

In the seventh century the layman K'an Chin-yun, having seen at Lo-yang a writing of the deceased Shan-tao glisten before his eyes, thought in his heart: "If my Karman is such that I can be reborn in the Pure Land, I ask for a more emphatic sign." Immediately a brightness resembling lightning surrounded him. "Henceforth," he said to himself, "the rocks may wear out, but I will not change my mind." He went to Ch'ang-an to pay a visit to the chapel erected in memory of Shan-tao. The latter appeared to him in the air and said to him: "Propagate devotion to Amitābha, and you certainly will be reborn in the Pure Land." From that time Mr. K'ang made a habit of gathering together the children of his district and causing them to invoke Amitābha, giving a copper coin to each of those who had invoked him respectfully ten times. Following his example, the parents throughout the district taught their children to invoke Amitābha. When Mr. K'ang invoked him, many people saw, each time, an image of Amitābha issuing from his mouth. When he was on the point of death he said to those standing round him: "Those who will see my light, they are my true disciples." That said, he passed away. . . . At that moment several saw him surrounded, as it were, by flames; others saw nothing.

Here is a hymn which devotees sing to Amitābha :

I offer thee my repentance and my desire,
I hope that thou wilt appear to me at the hour of my death,
Settling my spirit so that it shall vacillate no longer.
May we, I and all the faithful,
Purified through the apparition of thy splendour,
Be reborn in thy kingdom, the seat of saintliness and of happiness.

It is easy to indicate the faults in such teaching ; it is purely individual salvation, by escape *out of* this world, of which one despairs, by the help of a purely imaginary being. There is no hope of a new Jerusalem coming down, or of a new heaven and a new earth. But it is more profitable to admire the aspiration which could create this fancy out of nothing, and to give thanks that we have been told that the Word was made Flesh, and that at death we go to Him whom we know because He dwelt among us, full of grace and truth. Well did Canon Streeter, speaking of such things, borrow a line from Mrs. Browning, that " God's gifts put man's best dreams to shame." Did you notice that when Shan-tao pronounced the name of Amitābha people saw a flame or an image of Amitābha come from his mouth ? Would that it might be said in true poetry of saints who speak the Holy Name of Jesus !

But let us come to modern times for another revolt against a thought of God which is static instead of dynamic, which is of Being and not of Becoming, for which there can be no coming in judgment. Let us think of Rabindranath Tagore, who died only a year ago—patriot, internationalist, educationalist, and poet. He had abundant contacts with the west, and Europeans who lived close to him came under his spell almost as completely as Indians. His deep religious faith was a tapestry of many colours, its main texture ancient Indian, but with pantheism turned into monotheism, and strands from many world religions woven into one picture. One puzzling feature is that he apparently never came to terms with Jesus Christ, although C. F. Andrews and other good Christians were his bosom friends. But he could not escape Christ's spirit, and where Tagore changed the creed of his Hindu forefathers it was always in a direction to which Christ's teaching points, although, I believe, the guidance was not acknowledged, probably not perceived. There is a refrain in his poetry about God's coming to man.

Reading his Gitanjali, all of it addressed to God, we find ourselves fascinated, inspired, dazzled, yet constantly chasing after his real meaning. His sense of beauty is a never-ending reminder of God, but of what God ? The elusive God of pantheism who makes worlds for his sport ? Sometimes that. The " something far more deeply inter-fused," which Wordsworth felt ? Often that, with the river scenery of Bengal instead of the Cumberland lakes. Or is He, after all, the God suggested in the early Christian document that finds Him in man's labour—" Cleave the stone, and there am I " ? This is not the place for an answer to those questions. But as I remind you of a few of Tagore's verses, will you think how full of power they could have become if only there had been added to this genius a firm faith in God

incarnate in Jesus Christ? We can read them with such a faith, and find them expressive of our advent hope. God is there in the golden light that dances upon the leaves, and in idle clouds sailing across the sky. He is there, too, "where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the pathmaker is breaking stones." Yet He is always eluding His devotee.

I have not seen his face, nor have I listened to his voice; only have I heard his gentle footsteps from the road before my house. . . .

I live in the hope of meeting with him; but this meeting is not yet.

I keep gazing on the far away gloom of the sky, and my heart wanders wailing with the restless wind.

There is more contrast here than comparison. We who await the coming of Our Lord do not wait with the restless wind.

I sit on the grass and gaze upon the sky and dream of the sudden splendour of thy coming—all the lights ablaze, golden pennons flying over thy car, and they at the roadside standing agape when they see thee come down from thy seat to raise me from the dust. . . . But time glides on and still no sound of the wheels of thy chariot. Many a procession passes by with noise and shouts and glamour of glory. Is it only thou who wouldst stand in the shadow silent and behind them all? And only I that would wait and weep and wear out my heart in vain longing?

There is the famous, almost hackneyed, song with the refrain: "He comes, comes, ever comes." Taken alone, it might suggest satisfaction with God's coming in the fragrant days of sunny April, or on the thundering chariots of the clouds of the rainy season, or in life's joys and sorrows. But it is followed immediately by poems which show all that to be evanescent and a foretaste of some "coming" still deeply desired, whether it be in unforeseen bliss in this life, or after the sleep of death, from which *he* will awaken his devotee.

Let him appear before my sight as the first of all lights and all forms. The first thrill of joy to my awakened soul, let it come from his glance. And let my return to myself be immediate return to him.

Who is the "he" in that sentence? At the end of the book we hardly know; but we know that for us He is seen in the face of Jesus Christ, and "when I awake I shall be satisfied with Thy glory." The poet was too great to be limited to the thought of his own future, and was haunted equally by the dream of a future for his country, described in words which have been even more hackneyed, beginning, "Where the mind is without fear and the head held high"; and ending, "Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake." He came very near then to the Christian yearning for the coming Kingdom of God; but nothing came of it, for there was no thought of the Messiah King.

So we could go on comparing man's best dreams with God's gift in His Son. Do they not give fresh point to those elements in our Advent hope with which we began? At least the comparison leaves us grateful for Christian history supporting Christian life. We are not

left to dream, to conjure up gracious fancies and forms, nor to wander wailing on the restless wind. He shall come again in glory to judge both the quick and the dead. Who? He who was "born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried: the third day He rose again from the dead." In fear and in fascination, in penitence and in joy, we thrill to the certainty that He will come again.

May I close by voicing our quickened hopes in great words from the Respond in the Roman Breviary for the first Sunday in Advent?

I look from far, and behold I see the power of God coming, and a cloud covering all the earth. Go ye out to meet Him, and say: Tell us if thou art He Who shall reign over the people of Israel. High and low, rich and poor: one with another, Go ye out to meet Him, and say: Give ear, O thou who rulest Israel, thou that leadest Joseph like a sheep. Tell us if thou art He. Lift up your gates, O ye princes: and be ye lifted up, O eternal portals, and the King of glory shall come in, Who shall rule over the people of Israel. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. I look from afar, and behold the power of God coming, and a cloud covering all the earth. Go ye out to meet Him, and say: Tell us if thou art He Who shall rule over the people of Israel."

AN ARCHBISHOP IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The following retrospect of his tour among the Australian Forces in the Middle East was included in the Archbishop of Melbourne's Charge last October, and was printed in his diocesan magazine:

"Some of the services in the Middle East will remain a memory as long as I live. . . . A quiet day in the English church on the edge of rocks at Beyrout, with the sea booming upon the foundations and splashing over the roof. . . . An early morning service in an upper room in Jerusalem. . . . A church parade in an olive grove, near a Syrian village, the snow-capped Lebanons rising from the fertile valley, and crowds of Syrians reverently standing on the outskirts of the steady files of men, and how those men sang and listened! . . . A Confirmation in the Mission Church at Gaza. . . . The Communion Service on Christmas Day in the English Church at Heliopolis. . . . A delightful Evensong at the 7th A.G.H. and these are but a few experiences in a wonderful if tiring opportunity. Religion is difficult in the Army; it has few advantages in the matter of accommodation and privacy for worship, but it is still at work, and one is thankful for the quiet influence of Christian men who make a living chain from the heads of departments to the ordinary soldier who still bears the brunt of the fatigues and the dangers of war."

NEWS FROM OVERSEAS

NEW BISHOPS

The Bishop of Central Tanganyika is to have the help as his assistant bishop of the Rt. Rev. W. Wynn Jones, who was consecrated on the Feast of the Purification in St. Paul's Cathedral. The new bishop has served in Tanganyika under the Australian C.M.S. since 1928 and for the last ten years has been headmaster of the European School at Amsha. He has kept in touch with his fellow missionaries and the growing African Church.

From India comes the news of the consecration on the Feast of the Epiphany of Archdeacon Lenman. He is to be Bishop of the newly-formed Diocese of Bhagalpur, carved out of the Diocese of Calcutta, and comprising a large part of the Province of Bihar. Bishop Lenman has served for thirty-six years in this area, and thus becomes chief shepherd of a flock which already knows and trusts him.

TRAVELLING IN ANTIGUA

The Bishop writes the following account of his war-time travelling difficulties :

"My travels round the Diocese have been undertaken this year under special difficulties, owing to lack of the usual means of transport. I have travelled in sloops, schooners, motor launches, and open rowing boats. At times the journey has been delayed by engine trouble, at others by contrary winds, but mostly through being becalmed. It has been seldom possible to discover when a boat would be coming or when leaving. It has therefore been impossible to give definite information to the clergy when I should be arriving—or how long I should be staying. This, I know, has made it very trying for the clergy as well as for the candidates I was to confirm. In one case at least the latter had waited so long that they had outgrown their confirmation clothes. Owing, too, to the present food shortage it must have been very embarrassing to find the wherewithal to feed an extra mouth. But everywhere I have received nothing but kindness and appreciation and understanding of the difficulties—every allowance made and the inconvenience cheerfully borne. And this applies equally to my fellow travellers.

"I have journeyed with people from all sections of the community, but chiefly with traders and hucksters. The position might easily have been rendered embarrassing, not to say unpleasant. But no bishop could have wished for better shipmates—cheerful, courteous, and considerate. In other words, whether at sea or ashore, I found the people everywhere, like their priests, facing the situation with calmness and courage, bearing their privations and hardships, the shortage of food, and, in the case of my brethren the clergy, the lack of change and rest; in the case of mothers whose sons are in the battle line, some of them missing and others prisoners, with a brave face and Christian fortitude. God bless them."

PRISON CAMP ORDINATION

Did an ordination to the priesthood ever before in the world's history take place in a military internment camp? The Rev. Mitsuo Joseph Kitagawa has been ordained priest while working in the camp of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service near Santa Fé, N.M.

Bishop Charles D. Reifsnider, in charge of the Church's work among Japanese in the United States, and Bishop Arthur Huston of Olympia, officiated. The service deeply impressed the camp population. Camp officials showed great courtesy and interest.

Mr. Kitagawa has been in charge of religious work in the camp and may possibly be paroled to take charge of a congregation in one of the Japanese evacuation centres. (Reprinted from *Forth.*)

EGYPT

In spite of all the difficulties regarding religious freedom, the war situation, and problems of staffing, the C.M.S. Egypt Mission can record a year of almost unprecedented activity. There was an increase of approximately 40 per cent. in the work of the Old Cairo Hospital during 1941, and of over 50 per cent. at the Menouf Hospital. All four schools reported a very satisfactory enrolment of pupils. There is a growing demand in Egypt for an "English" education. This may be due in part to political factors, but it is also a result of public recognition of the moral and spiritual values associated with missionary institutions.

The movement for the development of voluntary evangelism in our hospitals at Old Cairo and Menouf did not progress at the outset so rapidly as we had hoped. This dilatoriness was occasioned by the war and partly by uncertainty as to the Government's attitude towards missionary work. During the past year the Rev. Adeeb Shammās, the incumbent of the Old Cairo Church, has done his utmost to revive the scheme, with the result that every Friday morning nearly all the evangelistic work in the hospital is now carried on by volunteers, and every Monday evening a training class in evangelism is held.

In 1941 the local S.P.C.K. recorded its highest figures for sales of both English and Arabic books. . . . Despite the increased cost of paper and financial restrictions resulting from the war, the local S.P.C.K. has continued to publish a steady stream of useful literature. Habeeb Fendi Said and Mr. S. A. Morrison co-operated in the writing of three more books in the Student's Series—*Religion and the State*, *Religion and Economics*, and *Different Forms of Government*.

The policy of the C.M.S. in Egypt is to maintain friendly contacts with the Coptic community, and to assist it in every possible way. The village schools which we subsidize are a tangible proof of our desire to co-operate. These provide a Christian education for Coptic children who would otherwise be exposed to the Islamic influence of the government compulsory schools. One condition of our financial help is that the administration of each school remains in the hands of the local Coptic community. Quite a large number of Copts from villages in the Giza Province attended the devotional Conference which is organized for them in the Old Cairo Hospital this spring. The principal speakers were all Copts. (From *Mr. S. A. Morrison, Cairo.*)

REVIEWS

THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESENCE. By W. J. Phythian-Adams. Oxford. 12s. 6d.

THIS is a difficult book to assess. Its principal thesis is that God was really present *with* Israel before Christ, and is really present *in* the Christian Church. This is set forth in six chapters on the Old Covenant and four on the New. The sub-title, *A Study of the At-one-ment*, is perhaps misleading, and it might have been better to say *of the Incarnation*, since this is the doctrine which receives most attention. In spite of a forced and unacceptable interpretation of *John i, 14* (making "flesh" mean "Church"), the exposition of what the author calls "Incorporation" is full of insight and illumination, leading as it does to a most searching challenge to the Church of to-day.

What the "World" needs is not only to hear about Love but to meet it in the concrete reality of human experience. What it needs is not only the Word of Life as preached but the Word made Flesh, which men can see with their eyes and handle with their hands. . . . The Church cannot commend the mystery of the Gospel unless it is in fact that mystery which it preaches. If it goes forth proclaiming the supreme truth of Love, it must do it "not in word neither with the tongue; but in deed and truth."
—(1 John iii, 18).

The words quoted are specially welcome because sometimes in the treatment of the Old Testament the numinous seems to be put before the ethical. While this is appropriate in the case of Ezekiel, it makes the treatment of Jeremiah unsatisfactory to those who accept Skinner's views as expressed in *Prophecy and Religion*. This leads to the most serious criticism of the book. On page 70 we read that "the idea of God's 'tabernacling' in the hearts of His People is never dreamt of in the Bible till we find it in the New Testament." This hardly does justice to *Isaiah lvi, 15*. And is it not said in *Judges vi, 34* that the Spirit of the Lord clothed itself with Gideon? But apart from proof-texts, surely we must see the true prophets themselves as being indwelt by God. This explains their so-called symbolic actions, which are to the men themselves and to their contemporaries the concrete activity of God Himself on the plane of history. And when a prophet introduces an oracle with "Thus saith the Lord," he feels himself to be not a reporter but the very mouth of God—as Jeremiah says (*Jer. xv, 19*).

The chapters on St. Mark, St. Stephen, St. Paul, and St. John abound in good ideas, though some readers may think the author goes too far in his use of the context of Old Testament quotations, and some may prefer to think that the latter often come from the collections of texts known as *Testimonia*. The appendix on *Hebrews* appears to overlook the saying that Jesus died to sanctify the people (*Hebr. xiii, 12*).

The New Testament is what it is because, like Jesus, it takes the Old Testament seriously. Dr. Phythian-Adams believes that we shall only be good Christians when we do the same, and we hope his book will have a big circulation.

J. R. COATES.

INTERLUDE. *Various Writers.* S.P.G. and C.M.S., 1s. 6d.

Interlude is a little book with a great story. It describes the experiences during internment and on the voyage home of S.P.G. and C.M.S. missionaries who were in Japan and China when war was declared on December 8th, 1941, and arrived in the Mersey on October 11th, 1942. This moving story is told with delightful humour and candour.

It is good to read frequent references to the politeness, courtesy, and kindness of the Japanese. The weary days of internment were lightened by the consideration of police and officials; and the loyalty and love of Japanese Christians must have been of immense comfort and cheer to the missionaries.

Then again and again is revealed the power of Christ to overcome national prejudices, suspicions, and hate. There is neither Greek nor Jew, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, where Christ is all in all.

These are some of the high lights—the magnificent reception given at Lourenço Marques and Cape Town, and the work of W.V.S. and Red Cross in lavishly providing tea and transport; the chanting of the Nicene Creed as a great Chorus and Triumph Song of Praise in the big African Church of St. Cyprian in the Lebombo diocese; the confirmation of Noel Taylor, the only son of missionaries safely restored to his parents who had been forcibly evacuated without him; the baptism of little Michael in the Cape Verde islands where gallant Captain Sands, R.N., has kept the Prayer Book services going for ten years without a padre; the great hearted Bishop Heaslett's description of "The Church we have left in Japan."

This is indeed a book to buy, read, and pass on to others.

NORMAN TUBBS.

THE JEWS IN A CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ORDER. By Olga Levertoff. 66 pp. London, The Sheldon Press, 1942.

Coming from the daughter of Paul Levertoff, the well-known scholar and pioneer of modern Jewish Christianity, this attempt to relate the problems of racialism, and particularly of anti-semitism, to the wider question of a Christian social order, cannot fail to awake interest. The author criticizes the views of the German theologian Kittel, who happens to be at the same time a professing Christian, a genuine New Testament scholar, and an adept of the "racial heresy"; she opposes to them the conceptions of Berdyaev and Maritain. Liberalism and assimilation have failed; Zionism is hedged about with difficulties. Jewry must be placed in a position to renew its acquaintance with Jesus and to fulfil its vocation on the spiritual plane. This is the particular task of the Jewish Christians. "Back to Jewish Christianity" also means "Forward," i.e. a recovery leading Christianity from Greek philosophical idealism to a revolutionary interpretation of the Gospel. The author, impressed by Russia, desires to find some point of synthesis between Christian realism and "dialectical materialism." Whatever one may think about it, one will appreciate in these pages the fiery sincerity and the vividness of expression which Olga Levertoff has already displayed in *The Wailing Wall*.

L. GILLET,

WHAT IS THE CHURCH DOING By Henry P. Van Dusen.
S.C.M. Press. 128 pp. 5s.

*THE SOUTH INDIA SCHEME OF UNION AND THE
CHURCH OF INDIA, BURMA AND CEYLON.* S.P.C.K.
1s.

The first of these is a remarkably heartening little book. The author has collected a surprising amount of evidence about Christian life as it is in the churches of Germany and enemy occupied countries, which reveals amazing instances of actual revival of religion as the result of persecution, e.g. a letter from a group of French prisoners to their home church, describing how they have come to a new realization of the meaning and value of the Church in its sacraments. Specially interesting, too, is what he has to report of the timely new life manifested in the Church of the Netherlands. The author also makes pertinent reference to Professor Latourette's exhibition of the process of ebb and flow in the expansion of Christianity and his discovery in each recession of seeds of still further advance; and he finds particular significance for the future of the Christian faith in the world in the development and coming of age in quite recent years of the Church in lands where the Gospel has been preached during the last century or so. He also notes that the "ecumenical movement" is found to be an appointed preparation for just this time, in that the churches, alike free and in captivity, are now consciously collaborating unhampered by boundaries of denomination or nationality; so that there is relevance to the whole situation in his appendix on current efforts towards reunion.

For anyone who desires to understand the South India Scheme of Union and its implications the pamphlet issued by S.P.C.K. is indispensable, comprising the important documents of the General Council of the Church of India, the Lambeth Conference, and its Consultative Body, and also two papers prepared for Indian Diocesan Councils by the Bishop of Chota Nagpur—viz. (1) The Principles and Results of the Proposed Union, and (2) Some Leading Issues of the Scheme. Here will be found material for forming a judgment on those points which raise doubt in the minds of members of our Church; and readers will do well to remember that the Bishop of Chota Nagpur is a man of unquestionable catholic orthodoxy, informed by profound learning in the sphere of canon law and patristics.

B. H. P. FISHER.

FROM A JAPANESE PRISON, by Samuel Heaslett (S.C.M. Press, 2s., 64 pp.), has been received as we go to press. The Archbishop of Canterbury writes in the Introduction: "It is a privilege to be allowed to commend this account of a most moving experience."

We also recommend *A CHRISTIAN YEAR BOOK*, 1943, 2s. 6d., 340 pp., an admirable compendium of information, from the S.C.M. Press.

Reviews are contributed by the Rev. J. R. Coates, Professor of Old Testament, Selly Oak Colleges; The Rt. Rev. Norman Tubbs, Dean of Chester, formerly Bishop of Rangoon; Fr. Lev Gillet, a priest of the Orthodox Church; and Canon B. H. P. Fisher, Warden of the College of the Ascension, Selly Oak, formerly of Cawnpore.